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skein of nature will require many a year of patient unravelling before we can trace the threads of life from end to end. It will be well, in this behalf, to do our spiriting gently. Prejudice and loud assertion make lingering haste—they pull out the slack but tighten the knots; modesty is our "only wear," work and wait our safest watchword.

THE FORMATION OF THE MIXED HUMAN RACES.*

By M. de QUATREFAGES, Professor of Anthropology in the Museum of Natural History, Member of the Institute, Honorary Fellow of the Anthropological Society of London.

The Crossing of Races in the New World.—"South America," says M. Perier very justly, "is the great laboratory of the modern mixed breeds or hybrid nations." Let me add that Central America and Mexico, in this respect, may be placed upon nearly the same footing as the more southern countries. It is especially interesting, then, to study out in all their details the results of the vast and varied experiments which have been worked out, or better still, which are now only commencing upon this extended field. And it is precisely this that M. Perier has done. He has collated an immense number of papers, and has examined the questions which they suggest. He has considered successively the origin of the Mestizos, the Mulattoes, and the Zambos, but we cannot follow him into all these details. We will content ourselves with some general observations.

M. Perier recognises the fact, that in the crossings of races the inferior is bettered, and acquires a relative degree of superiority. But, according to him, this elevation is purchased only at the price of a degradation of the superior race, so marked that in fact there is a deterioration in the population.

Now, even by taking the facts as he presents them, I see no reason for accepting his conclusions. Evidently, M. Perier, in forming his judgment of the mixed races, takes for his standard of comparison a European of pure blood, as he is, or rather as he onght to be, among ourselves. He fails to bear in mind the real point of departure or standard of comparison, i. e., the Creole. If our author had only

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applied to the mixed races the same considerations which some pages further on he has made in the case of the white colonies, if he had only remembered who the parents were, he would have been, I think, less severe on the children. He would have been still more indulgent if he had taken into account the moral and social condition in earliest infancy of these classes of society, too often the children of debauchery on the one hand, and on the other of degradation. Generally in America the white man despises alike the native and the negro; the native in turn regards the negro as beneath himself. The offspring of these different races are almost always and necessarily outcasts. What else could that be which is born and raised in reproach? Is there among the purer white races any stock whatsoever that preserves under such circumstances an elevated and moral position? No; and from these two points of view man will always be degraded by reason of the contempt which will be heaped upon him. This simple observation explains why it is that the Zambo, an intermixture of the Indian and the negro, is generally conceded to occupy the lowest position in the scale as regards these two points.

Perhaps I ought to say something concerning the mixture of the white man with the native American. Here the facts are so well defined that it is necessary to lay special emphasis upon them. This race plays, in Mexico and other places, a part undisputed, and for that matter indisputable; in many respects indeed it constitutes almost the entire active classes. Some of the men who have exercised the greatest influence upon the destinies of their country have belonged to this class. Has its influence always been a happy one? Certainly not; and that which is now transpiring in the South American republics only tends to substantiate this charge.

But this aspect of the question should be examined separately, and we will revert to it again.

Let us continue to accept without question (and this we may readily do) the facts as M. Perier presents them.

Now the mixed races in question are charged with physical degeneracy! But the very authors quoted by M. Perier seem to me to be almost unanimously of the contrary opinion. Those of them who have drawn the least favourable sketch of these races, have depicted them as "robust, indefatigable, sober," (Max Radiguet.) Some, moreover, declare them equal and even superior to the pure-blooded whites, (D'Orbigny, Martin de Moussy, d'Azara, etc.) And the oral proofs which I have received fully confirm these estimates, (César Daly, E. Reclus, etc.) Bear in mind, too, that they (as well as their indigenous ancestors) are wholly acclimated, and their rapid multiplication will astonish no one. We shall then understand the foresight

of those who look upon this race as destined to become nearly if not entirely the governing class in certain parts of South America.

While I allow my own opinions to be influenced by M. Perier's, I meet with no traveller who states that the mixed races are notably inferior to the whites as respects intelligence. The most critical of them acknowledge that they have "much of intelligence, spirit and imagination," (Raynal, Perier.) But in general, the charge made against them is in the use they make of their faculties. They are almost everywhere indolent, passionate, and addicted to gaming, always ready to foment civil discord, etc. Admit it, but let us compare this estimate of their moral character with that which M. Perier has drawn in the case of the Creoles, and still again, the distinction between the pure bred white and his descendants, too often disregarded, will not appear so very great. This is, moreover, a question the consideration of which we shall resume farther on.

M. Perier devotes a special chapter to the Paulistas (inhabitants of the Province of St. Paul, in Brazil.) With pleasure do we follow him into this field, but at the outset we must correct some of his statements of fact regarding the origin of this celebrated people; facts accepted without qualification by the author, although coming from prejudiced sources, as M. Ferdinand Denis long since pointed out in his "History of Brazil."

The Paulistas did not in their beginning spring from the unrestricted and unlicensed intercourse of the roving bands, of all sorts of ancestry, with the native American women, (as stated by various authors cited by Perier.) These first intermarriages were not forced by violence; quite the contrary. The founder of the colony, Alfonzo da Souza, in connection with some Portuguese, to whom were also added a few families from Azores, established himself without violence in the midst of the Gayanazos, a native race, at that time peaceable, and devoted to the chase. As they increased, this colony allied itself with the Carijos, a warlike and cannibal race, but also cultivators of the soil. Such were the elements concerned in the formation of this mixed race.

But it is important to remark, that from the very first the mixed marriages brought about by this coalition of races were regulated by the advice of Fathers Nobrega and Anchieta, who were the apostles of Christianity in those countries. Moreover, their common dangers united intimately the whites, who remained unmixed, and the Mamelucos, who were the result of the interbreedings. As for these last, their moral and social status was here quite different from what obtains in other places. Almost from the very commencement of the colonisation they were regarded as the equals of the Europeans, and in this

instance they escaped the arraignment of the law which in certain cases is carried so far as to interdict regular marriages among the crossbreeds, and to condemn them to that life of debauchery which subsequently becomes their reproach.

What has been the consequences of a state of things so rarely realised? It is just that which M. F. Denis so strongly depicts, and his testimony is confirmed in most points by the very statements of the most bitter enemies of the Paulistas. So far as concerns their physical characteristics, no one denies to this people a remarkable muscular strength, and a power of resisting fatigue to a very extraordinary degree. The women are acknowledged, even in Brazil, as superior to all others of their sex. The men are remarkable for the general expression of their countenance, and for the fire of their eyes, which are usually brown, and but rarely blue. "Some families in the province of St. Paul have kept themselves free from all intermixture, and they love to call attention to this exceptional position. We can say, however, that these are not the ones who are noted for their beauty." (F. Denis.) Morally, everybody recognises in the Paulistas a rare energy, an indomitable courage, and a spirit of enterprise which equals, if it does not surpass, all that displayed by the European conquerors of the country. They have given evidence of these qualities from the very outset, and that too in agricultural labours as well as in the adventurous undertakings I am about to relate. No sooner had they increased their numbers in the plains of Piratininga than these places were put under cultivation unknown in the other districts. The sugar-cane brought from Madeira was cultivated first by the Paulistas, and they were the first also to raise large flocks, which became to them a source of wealth.

But, as is well known, in the sixteenth century people of such a nature and disposition as this would with difficulty settle down to peaceful occupations. Their institutions and customs permitted others. Traffic in negro or Indian slaves was authorised; the search for gold was esteemed an occupation worthy the bravest of their leaders. Thus these two pursuits became a favourite occupation of the Paulistas, and in them they accomplished wonders. United into little companies, each of which was commanded by a tried leader, they extended their forays from the Amazon to Paraguay, in the face of a thousand dangers from the country, the vicissitudes of weather, and the people. From these excursions they returned with thousands of slaves, whom they put to work in cultivating their fields. One of the most celebrated of these bands of the seventeenth century reckoned upon its lands a thousand Indians capable of military duty.

In these raids, it is pretty clear that the Mamelucos of St. Paul

showed that they were no more humane or refined than were at that time the pure-blooded Spaniards, who, if occasion demanded it, chased the natives with blood-hounds; that they were no less unscrupulous than in our day are the Circassians and the Tcherkesses, when they make forays into the plain. Above all, made ferocious by the very terror which they appeared to have everywhere inspired, they respected neither the slaves of others nor of the Jesuits themselves. These last, assailed in their sources of revenue, and seeing their converts removed from their control, and frequently by force, complained most bitterly. They described the Paulistas who robbed them as brigands, and finally induced the Pope to excommunicate all the possessors of Indians. At this turn of affairs the Paulistas drove out all of this religion in their own provinces, and they were then accused of having renounced the Christian religion to return to the local superstitions.

Such, it seems to me, is the truth of the past history of the Paulistas. They were a people peculiar to their time, a people infinitely more hardy, adventuresome and energetic than their neighbours. Unfortunately this people, who were simply children of nature, were attacked on the one hand by educated classes, and on the other by the religious orders, and finally, they were painted in the blackest colours. It is not surprising, then, that M. Perier should have found in the writings of the Jesuit Charlevoix and his associates, as well as in those who repeated their accusations, some exaggerated calumnies. Still we must remark, at the outset, that as regards the imputation of idolatry, we do not find charged against them anything more than was permitted at that time among the most pure-blooded whites.

But, finally, even had the Mamelucos of St. Paul been everything that their enemies represented, it is only just to inquire whether they have remained in the same condition that they were in during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Now, on this point, all the testimony is in accord, and M. F. Denis has merely summed it up when he says: "During the later years of the eighteenth century, we observe a change taking place in the character of the Paulistas, to such a degree, that this active but turbulent people have acquired a reputation only for bravery, generosity, and sincerity, that contrasts most strikingly with the habitual spirit of violence and cruelty observed among the more ancient colonists. At the present time the most happy moral development, as well as the most remarkable intellectual progress, appears to obtain in the Province of St. Paul."

M. Perier accepts this testimony, but he attributes the change to the fact that the Paulistas of our day, crossed and recrossed with other stock, have gradually become assimilated to their European

origin, and have, so to speak, no foreign blood in their veins. I refrain from citing here the so decisive passage which I have already quoted from M. Denis. The comparison between the families of pure white blood, and the mixed, is by no means to the advantage of the former. But I will examine a little more at length this question proposed by my colleague.

To sum up, we see that the intermixture of four distinct races or peoples gave birth, in the province of St. Paul, to a hybrid race, which in physical characteristics was equal or superior to the Creole races that remained unmixed; which governed all the neighbouring races by its warlike energy, in times when war, so to speak, was the normal state; which, changing with the general condition of society, came back to more peaceful occupations, and in peace still preserved its superiority. Does not this fact in itself speak volumes? Does it not show what should take place in a majority, if not in all, the races formed in America by intermixing? Does it not throw a light upon the influence which the social and moral condition, under which a race has its birth, exercises upon the destinies of such race?

It remains for me to say a few words concerning the mulatto, the offspring of the European and the negro. I have already examined this question from various points of view, and I will here lay special emphasis upon the intellectual, moral, and social aspect of the same.

Let me say a single word upon a physical characteristic on which M. Perier has laid considerable stress, namely, the beauty of the women. Long ago we knew, and all travellers have been unanimous on this point, that the mulattoes, quadroons, etc., of our colonies are, in this respect, but little inferior to the more pure-blooded Creoles. From the testimony which I might cite, I will here adduce only that of M. Taylor, whose observations were made in the little colony of Tristan de Cunha. In this island the fathers were all white, either Englishmen or Hollanders from the Cape, the mothers were all negresses or mulattoes. "All the people born in this island are mulattoes, but very slightly coloured, and of most admirably proportioned stature; almost all of them have more of the European than the negro type. Taken together, the young girls were so thoroughly beautiful, both in face and figure, that I do not recollect ever having seen any more so, and that, notwithstanding the fact that I am familiar with all the sea-shore countries, Bali and its Malays, Havana and its Creoles, Tahiti and its nymphs, the United States and their most celebrated women." The physical beauty of the mixed blood of black and white is certainly not to be disputed. Let us then return to considerations in reality of more importance.

Remember, at the outset, that the white and the black are both

foreigners in America, and that the difficulties of acclimatisation, which are there very severe on both races, must exercise, so to speak, a double action upon the product of their union. Remember also under what conditions these unions are ordinarily made, and do not forget the prejudices against colour, so powerful almost everywhere in the colonies. Would it be strange that a race of people formed under conditions so unfavourable should be inferior, in a marked degree, to the superior of the two races concerned in this formation?

Nevertheless, no one points out this evident inferiority. M. Simonot, who, in this question, generally adopts M. Perier's conclusions, contents himself with saying that the mulattoes "are far from realising, as a rule, a physical or intellectual progress proportioned to the races which gave them birth." In other passages, he acknowledges that "among these mixed races we meet with instances, both male and female, of a remarkable type of beauty, and we find also that their intelligence places them on a level with the most perfect of the white race, but these cases are the exceptions to the rule."

The observations I am now about to quote, relate particularly to the crossing of races on the borders of Africa. M. Rufz, who formed his conclusions from what is taking place at Martinique, tells us "from all these facts we are warranted in concluding that the interbreeding of the white and the black races has exercised a favourable rather than an unfavourable influence upon the resultant race." This last testimony, coming from a physician who has scientifically studied the evidence, and who has passed the greater part of his life in the country of which he writes, is all the more important from the fact that the negroes imported into Martinique, as well as into the other French colonies, generally come from the coast of Guinea, and are consequently inferior, as we have already seen, at least to certain of the black tribes of Senegal.

This entirely modern appreciation of the question confirms fully the impression which the reading of the evidence relative to the history of the mulatto of St. Domingo has always left upon my mind. There, the men of colour, as we know, multiplied in a remarkable manner. Had they had the same means of instruction, they would have come at once to an equality with the whites, who were degenerated by idleness and their absolute control in government. In the terrible struggles which they have had to maintain against all parties, we see them displaying a courage equal to that of any white race whatsoever. More than decimated by the blacks, under the despotism of Soulouque, and under the force of threats of extermination made to them by the adherents of Vaudoux, they still had a revival of learning. And if this took on a somewhat peculiar form, the fault, in

reality, must be ascribed to their former masters, who had left in the island scarcely any literature beyond the romances of the previous century and a few volumes of political addresses. Notwithstanding all this, the literary men of Hayti have shown, especially in the drama, the germs of a remarkable literary faculty. (D'Alaux.)

In his "*Nouveau Voyage aux Iles d'Amérique*," Father Labat, after having spoken of the beautiful figure and of the vigour of the mulattoes, and after saying that they are "adroit, industrious, courageous, and hardy beyond imagination," speaks of their high-spiritedness. This trait in their character, which is marked almost everywhere, astonishes M. Perier. But, had the question related to an unmixed race, he would not have so readily expressed his surprise.

The same traveller adds, that they are fickle and devoted to pleasures. But can we not see here an instance of hereditary transmission from the father's side? Finally, he accuses them of being skulkers and vicious. But what else could the mulatto be, placed, as he is, between the blacks, on the one hand, who thoroughly hate him, and the whites, on the other, who, after having given him hope, and transmitted to him sometimes even their noblest aspirations, grind him down with crushing contempt?

Again, is it not just to ascribe at least a part of these bad qualities to their social condition, and ought we to make the mere crossing of the races responsible for the results inevitably entailed by the local circumstances of birth? The answer to this question is found in Brazil. There the prejudices of colour, far less violent than in other places, have not prevented the mulatto from taking his merited place in society. The old laws, fallen into disuse before the customs of the people, do not arrest him at the threshold of a liberal career, and there is no one who cannot recall instances wherein this result has been reached. Some have reached the very highest places in the administration of government. In addition to the proofs which I have cited elsewhere and to those which are accepted by M. Perier himself, I am able to add confirmatory oral evidence recently received by me.

M. Lagos, among others, has confirmed all that M. de Lisboa had already said relative to the superiority manifested in art by the mulattoes over the two parent races. Almost all the Brazilian painters and musicians belong to this mixed race. Their scientific aptitude also is equally well developed. A large number devote themselves to the study of medicine, (Lagos,) and very many have become celebrated as practitioners.

Observations to the same purport have been received from many other sources. M. Torrès Caicédo, former *chargé d'Affaires* of Vene-

zuela, writes me: "We find the same virtues and the same vices among the whites, the mulattoes, and the Indians." Then he adds a list of mulattoes distinguished by various titles, and among them figure orators, publicists, poets, and a former vice-president of New Grenada, "a distinguished writer and excellent administrator."

In a word, then, and to judge from all that we know of them, we can say of the mulattoes of Brazil and of many other countries besides, what M. Thevenot says of those with whom he was associated, "The mulatto may be all that the white man is. His intelligence is equal to ours." Let us add that he is born thoroughly acclimated to the intertropical regions, and let us bear in mind that a magnificent future awaits this too long down-trodden son of the negro and the white in countries that perchance are the most privileged on the globe.

The Origin of the Present Europeans.—If the crossing of races were in itself a cause of degeneration, as M. de Gobineau thinks, it is difficult to say to what a degree of inferiority European nations would have reached. There are but few places on the globe where nations have been so often intermingled, blended, and juxtaposed as on our soil. Archæology, philology, history, comparative mythology, etc., all strive daily to determine with more precision these ethnical elements, and at various times questions of this nature have been raised in the Anthropological Society. The origin and determination of the limits of the Celtic race have been especially the subject of numerous and profound studies. MM. Broca, Bonté, Lagneau, and Pruner-Bey, have on several occasions summed up the facts already known, and presenting them under their different aspects, have brought out the results of their own special researches. The works of M. Van der Hoeven, on the Fins and Magyars, have furnished M. Pruner-Bey an opportunity of making known his own upon the same subject. MM. Broca and L. Leguay have explored our own soil, and studied from an anatomical and archæological point of view the contents of the ancient tombs, etc. But I cannot enter into detail of these labours, the full appreciation of which would demand frequently a knowledge that I am deficient in, and which, moreover, touches upon special anthropology. I content myself then by merely indicating the general results arrived at.

M. d'Omalius has considered the question of European origins, taken in its totality and also in its numerous ramifications, in one of those short and ingenious epitomes in which our illustrious confrère knows so well how to sum up his learning, which is so vast, and his doubts, which occasionally border upon scepticism. Planting himself upon the broad ground of history and philology, and starting

from the recent discoveries in palæontology, he asks whether in the beginning of the present order of events the human races were not distributed almost as they are in our day; whether the Europeans were really of Asiatic origin; whether the languages with flexions would not have spread sooner from Europe into Asia, than from Asia into Europe; whether the Irish, Welsh, low-Bretons, and Scotch, in place of being derived from Asia, were not more likely descendants of the autochthones of western Europe?

M. d'Omalius has thus revived the argument originally enunciated in France by M. Henrici, and subsequently in England by Latham. These two authors go even to a greater extreme than our learned colleague. The first, admitting, with M. d'Omalius, that events have always followed in the same order, asserts that the west has always overrun the east. Consequently he is led to regard the Sanscrit language as derived from the Celtic; he does not hesitate to look upon all the languages styled *neolatines* as offshoots of the Celto-Ligurian or Gallic tongue, a simple dialect of the old Celtic, which is preserved even to our day under the name of the Provençal dialect; he considers the Latin itself to be directly derived from this mother tongue, which, moreover, had no small influence upon the Greek. It follows, then, that both peoples and languages have migrated from the west toward the east. Latham recognises the fact that history is silent upon the original migrations; but, resorting to the *à priori* method, he thinks that they ought to have taken place from the larger to the more circumscribed countries, and he concludes that the original seat of the Sanscrit ought to be in the east or southeast of those countries where the Lithuanian is spoken, and that its origin is European.

The opposite opinion, as is well known, is the one maintained by the generality of modern ethnographers. In the Paris Anthropological Society, this view of the question has found many and earnest supporters. And if M. Dally has brought up again the doubts expressed by M. d'Omalius, M. Chavée, on the part of philology; Lagneau and Bonté of history; Bertrand of archæology; Liétard of history, philology, and mythology; and Pruner-Bey, in almost every point of view, have corroborated by new proofs the generally accepted opinions.

When we look at the imposing army of proofs, drawn from all these so different sources, and all pointing to one and the same conclusion, we can no longer doubt, it seems to me, the reality of this great fact, namely, that the modern European nations are children of Asia, and sisters of the races which have peopled India and Persia. An elder sister of all these races—an evidence of the primitive Aryans—still exists in the higher mountains of Bolor and Hindookoh.

Under the name of *Mamoges*, they still maintain against the fanaticism of the Afghans, their independence, their ancient customs, and their religion, almost Vedic in its character. These people have, undoubtedly, to a much greater extent than the Greeks under Alexander, impressed upon their neighbours of Cachemire those habits of regularity which characterise them, and which it is said are even more refined than among the nations which we are accustomed to look upon as models in this respect, (H. Smith.) All the recent observations of M. Lejean only tend to strengthen these conclusions, which in my opinion could justly be drawn from the facts previously known.

But, did the Aryans on arriving in Europe find the country unoccupied? No, we can confidently, at this day, assert. The man who in France was coeval with the long-haired elephant, the rhinoceros, the great bear of the caverns, and the reindeer; this man preceded the Aryan race upon our soil. He, in all probability, occupied the whole land, which later was invaded by the races relatively of recent origin. Mythological, legendary, and historical evidences, prove this in certain countries, and we have seen that we still find the evidences of this first European race. It has left its trace even in the people of Paris. In Greece, the head of Socrates, the features of which everybody knows, his cranium, certainly, well nigh brachycephalic, is known not to belong to the type which the Greeks derived from Asia. Moreover, how could these people have devised the type of the young faun, which is as wholly idealised in its kind as that of Apollo in his, unless they had before their eyes the models to indicate it?

Two great sources, therefore, have furnished the origin of the European people. But has the first of the two furnished only the homogeneous elements? Were all the men that the Aryans found in Europe entirely alike? Especially were they all brachycephalic, or wholly or more largely mesatocephalic, as are the fossil remains of the men from whom we judge of the rest? Did these last mentioned remain unmixed with the other races? Have they always peacefully occupied the soil on which they have succeeded (at most) to the *tertiary* man, whose existence is still a matter of doubt? Did any invasion reckoning from this actual geological epoch (*i. e.*, the tertiary), bring among us new ethnical elements before the first Aryano-Celtic immigration? Was this last preceded everywhere by the allophyllic population? Such are the questions as they present themselves at this time; for each step forward in the path on which we are advancing with such unhoped-for rapidity, gives rise to new problems, resulting from those we have already solved.

Let us remark at once that the preceding questions are wholly distinct from that which we have already examined, namely, (*the primitive European origins*). I previously defined the exact limits, both as to time and space, within which I should confine my remarks. Outside these limits the field for research is entirely free, and already a certain number of results seem to me to be acquired. Thus, for instance, M. Bernard has shown that beyond the primitive race which contented itself with the stone weapons so roughly prepared, the race which built the dolmens formed a little society apart by themselves, clearly circumscribed and wholly distinct from the Aryan stock. He has prepared a table of the migrations of this people which made its appearance at Courland, in the northern part of Russia, (West,) took up its line of march toward the west, and reached the sea, re-ascended as far as Gothebourg, but not much higher, touched at the Orcades and Hebrides, stopped upon the western shores of Great Britain and of France, where it ascended a number of the rivers, remained for a little time in Portugal, and finally lost itself in Africa, in the neighbourhood of Algiers and Constantina. At the period of its setting out, this race was still in the age of stone. In its long travels it passed through the age of bronze, and even entered upon the age of iron.

The crania of this race, even in Sweden, show at least in some of the burial places, that they were almost exclusively dolichocephalic, (Van Duben.) Is this already the Aryan race, but still in its infancy and appearing before it had made the discovery of the metals? A comparative and minute examination of the crania would alone settle this question; but, meanwhile, the considerations to be derived from their stature, would ill accord with the affirmative view of this question. When the Celt and the Aryan of the bronze age arrived in Europe, he is at once distinguished by his tall stature. The same observations apply to the short statured dolichocephalic, found in the long barrows (Thurnam). If this race was an Aryan it was a short statured Aryan, and consequently a race secondary to and different from the Celtic.

Could an allophyllic stock, then, have its dolichocephalic branches? It would not be strange if such were the fact. In this, perhaps, we may find a solution of the difficulties raised by the cranium found at Engis, and also that of Egisheim, which also appears to be of the long type, (dolichocephalic.) In this way, perhaps, we shall find reconciled the contrary opinions maintained by MM. Broca and Pruner-Bey. Do not forget that the two cranial types are found in the Aryan stock, and this in a people which, separated by this characteristic, are in accord, in other respects, relating to their

skin, hair, and language. (The Germans of the north were *dolichocephalic*, and the Germans of the middle states *brachycephalic.*) We cite again, the fact, that the negro stock, which is generally dolichocephalic, has branches that are brachycephalic (Mincopies).

The existence in Europe of an allophyllic dolichocephalic people, would nevertheless add only another type secondary to those which this ancient race already presents. Let us, if you please, leave out of view its fossil representatives, still, perhaps, too few in number to generalise from, and let us take into account only the proofs still existing; let us lay aside the Magyars, whose advent is entirely modern; let us also neglect the Basque-type with the elongated head, for as a rule in this people brachycephaly does not everywhere appear to reach anything near the degree which it presents in the Laplander. This last, in turn, differs from the Esthonian in many characteristics, but notably in those pertaining to the superior maxillary bones; and finally among the Esthonians themselves we establish the existence of two well marked types.

We conclude, therefore, that without leaving this part of Western Europe, which alone has been pretty much explored from the point of view relating to our subject, we have ascertained in the allophyllic race derivative branches almost as numerous as those of the Aryan stock.

It is from the mixture of these elements, so diverse, in a physical point of view, and doubtless no less different in other respects, that the existing European peoples, as a whole, have originated, for we can scarcely take into account the small admixture of Semitic blood which they have received, particularly in the south. Mixed up by wars, invasions, and movements of every sort of which it is not my business to speak, these people have almost all retained, to a very high degree, the stamp of mixed races. The prevailing element, in one or another region, shows itself quite frequently by some characteristic common to the majority of the individuals of the race, *e. g.*, stature; occasionally some trait breaks out in the midst of others which seems to exclude it, (prognathism,) at times also the pure types seem to reappear, thanks to the phenomena of atavism, but the general fact of old and repeated intermixtures is no less evident.

Are we for that reason inferior to our ancestors, and must our civilisation yield to its predecessors? Yes, replies M. de Gobineau. No, we unhesitatingly affirm. Unquestionably mere size, without a well defined purpose in view, has for us few attractions, and we should not erect a pyramid simply to enclose a coffin. But, do we shrink back when a faith-inspiring thought or a noble purpose to be accomplished comes in to prompt our efforts? The existing state of

things shows the contrary. The spire of the cathedral of Strasbourg is but slightly overtopped by the pyramid of Cheops; in cutting through the isthmus of Suez we are doing over the work of the Pharaohs, only on a much larger scale; and in piercing the Alps we are certainly far ahead of everything antiquity dared dream of. Likewise in the domain of arts are we very much below the Greeks, the acknowledged models of all? Perhaps so; but if they have remained our masters in architecture and sculpture, may we not be theirs in music and painting? And what civilisation of the past has approached at all near our works of pure science, those marvels which, happily, accomplish every day the satisfying of our noblest and most disinterested instincts, and which also minister to our wants, our pleasures, or our caprices?

History shows us that it is not given to man to attain at once to all the extremes of his capability. But in submitting to this law, thus far absolute, the modern European, *the hybrid a thousand times crossed from the Allophyllic and the Aryan races*, can, without boasting, regard as well done the part which he has taken in the successive work of generations; he has a right, indeed, to be proud of the manner in which he has performed his task.

Mean Age of Races and Peoples.—In view of the movement which is bringing face to face the most widely separated peoples, and which, everyday, is multiplying the means of intercourse, by canals, railroads, and steamboats, it is impossible for us not to foresee that the time is relatively near at hand when the most distant races, after having everywhere become thoroughly intermixed, shall people the entire world with their hybrid progeny. What, then, will be the result to humanity? Will it be degraded or elevated?

To give an intelligent opinion on this question, which forces itself upon us, the mind instinctively turns to those countries where the crossing is already most complete. It studies with anxiety the immediate results, and the impression which is forced upon us is not, it must be confessed, the most encouraging. And from thence come those gloomy forebodings which MM. Gobineau, Perier, and others, have more or less prominently put forth.

But these disheartening prophesies are based upon the postulate, either implied or expressly reduced to a formula, (as in the case of M. Gobineau,) that these mixed races of the future will be incapable of progress. Now, do we find in the past a single fact authorising this hypothesis? Let us recall here our own history, and what France was after the invasion of the barbarians, at which time began those admixtures of races from which the French nation took their origin: let us remember the time of the *trève de Dieu* and the *quarantaine du*

Roi. Who could anticipate the France of to-day in that desolate country?

Why should the destiny of Mexico and of South America be any way different?

In fact, the majority, at least of civilised peoples, have had their origin only in the midst of mixed races, and M. de Gobineau himself acknowledges it. In fact, each truly new mixture has given birth to a civilisation superior, at least in certain respects, to those which preceded it and from which it took its initiative. In fact, the pure races which we saw come into Europe, arrived there wholly in a state of barbarism, and it was only subsequent to the crossings that the aptitude for development in civilisation appeared. In fact, their immediate heirs, those knights of noble blood who, completely armed, were accustomed to leap on their horses, barbed, like themselves, in iron, had actually no position in society, either morally or intellectually; and consequently, the crossing of the human races appears everywhere to be a cause of progress, producing new forms which mankind invests with the attributes of greatness.

But, evidently, no single crossing is adequate for the accomplishment of this progress, or for the appearance of this new form. Neither the one nor the other is manifest at the outset. For the benefit of those impatient ones who would reduce every thing to a moment of time, I would recall the proofs from the practice of our stock breeders; the experiments so precisely instituted by Girou de Buzareingues, or those recounted by Nott himself. A certain number of generations, a certain proportion of the mixture of the two bloods are necessary for the resultant race to give forth all that is expected of it.

In these experiments with animals, intelligence and artificial selection come in and hasten the final result. In the crossings between human races natural selection alone is in play. Is it surprising, then, that the experiment should require more time? And when the newly incoming swarms of people keep the population constantly in the condition of beginning, is it strange that the result is delayed even still longer? No, it could not be otherwise. Now in almost every case this is precisely what obtains.

But when a small number of individuals of different races find themselves isolated in such a way that the progress of events takes place without interference, and the results of the mixture become evident so much sooner, and when at the same time the phenomena are less complex; we then more readily discern the connection of events. Just these conditions have been realised at Pitcairn, and that is why I attach so great an importance to the example there found.

It is to the general history of the mixture of the human races, what our experiments in the workshop and laboratory are to the great natural phenomena. It affords us an explanation and understanding of its laws.

In 1789, nine sailors of the English ship "Bounty," having mutinied and deserted their commander, established themselves at Pitcairn, with six Tahitians, whom they purposed to make their slaves, and fifteen women, who could hardly be called their wives. So far as concerns antecedents, it was, as we see, conquest with all its abuses; it was what still too often takes place.

The results were just what they should have been. A war of races broke out. Five whites perished; the women assassinated the Polynesians. In 1793, there remained at Pitcairn, only four whites, ten Polynesian women, and some children. They lived there in a state of absolute polygamy. Subsequently a quarrel broke out between the four Europeans, and two were slain.

The two remaining Europeans finally profited by the lessons of the past. They lived in peace, and exerted all their efforts to govern the little society born in the midst of the outbreak of all their passions. One of the two soon died of disease, and Adams alone remained to continue the work, having no other guide than a Bible, which had by chance been carried there.

In 1825, when Captain Beechey visited Pitcairn, he found a population of sixty-six persons, remarkable for their beautiful proportions, their muscular power, and extraordinary agility, their keen and quick intelligence; their earnest desire for instruction, and their moral qualities, of which he narrates a touching instance. Most unquestionably, this society, entirely a mixed race, was superior at least to the very great majority of the elements which had given birth to it. But it reached that point only by passing through its *mean age.*

At Pitcairn, this decisive period has been short. The duration is in proportion to the number of elements which must be eliminated or softened down. In France and Europe it has lasted much longer, because these elements were infinitely more numerous and complex, and because in many respects the work had necessarily to be many times repeated. In America, the period of the invasion of races is still going on. How, then, should these raees be fixed, and how could they manifest their true characteristics?

America, in general, and especially the Spanish and Portuguese settlements therein, are in their full mean age. This fact, evident enough to me, explains why the reproaches made against these people are so well founded. The differences which are seen in other respects between the south and the north, could be easily explained, if this

were the place to engage in that work. What sort of a civilisation will arise out of this immense field of experiment, where all the nations of the earth are mixed, and amalgamated together? It seems presumptuous to attempt even in the most general way, to reply to this question, and yet the past warrants us in casting a glance at the future.

On this point I am happy to agree exactly with M. Maury, when, taking into view the ethnical origin of peoples, he sees civilisation born and developed into greatness by the contact, mixture, and union of races. I am happy to think, as does my colleague and predecessor, M. Serres, who sums up his opinion in these words: "The greater the number of elements entering into the composition of a race the higher its development; . . . the greater the number of special characteristics the longer is its life." These great social facts will nowhere be brought out in so perfect a manner as in America. Wholly differing, then, from those savants whose views I have previously combated, I see in the concourse which all the peoples of the globe are bringing in to the formation of the future American races, a pledge that these races will be more perfect than any of their ancestors. In that fact, there will be on the whole a prime cause of superiority; and as in the past, it will without doubt be manifested in new forms by the very fact of the mixture or crossing.

Moreover, we learn from history that civilisation in the progress of descent from their predecessors never retrogrades in this respect; that while they are perchance weaker on some points they more than make up for it on others. Even the most fleeting civilisations, like those of the Arabs in Spain, have had, so to speak, their specialty, and have made progress forwards. Now no one civilisation will have had for its point of departure a foundation so large as the future American civilisation. Everything, then, tends to the presumption that it will far outstrip us.

Conclusion.—In the course of the lectures delivered at the Museum some twenty years since, and of which a resumé has been published by M. Esquiros, M. Serres insists upon the future result of the crossing of the human races. Firmly admitting the perpetuity of actual characteristic types, he believes in the unification of races. Without going to so great a length, M. Maury thinks that everything tends towards uniformity, and that the time will come when a mere variation in character will take the place of the old diversity of races.

Now, while freely acknowledging there is some truth in the opinions of my eminent colleagues, I cannot go to so great a length as they. Without doubt, in the great movement which has engaged the attentive study of all three of us, the civilised white man plays the most

important part. It is he who everywhere seeks out the inferior races, at one time by force carrying them away with him and compelling them to undertake forced migrations, at another obtruding himself upon them and occupying their own soil, at still another exercising an influence and attraction against which he strives in vain to defend himself, but always mingling his own blood with that of the inferior races, and thereby elevating their position. But the mixed races will differ in proportion as the ethnical elements to which he allies himself differ. One only of the parties will be elevated out of the distance which before separated them, and a common element will be established between them in relations where none previously existed.

In addition to this prime cause, which will tend by itself to maintain a distinction of races, even were they placed in identical circumstances, we must besides add the influence of other causes. So long as the earth remains what it is, so long as there shall be an equator and poles, isles and continents, an old and a new world, so long as the conditions of existence shall remain as varied as we now see, so long will distinct races exist, and continue to form themselves, and that, too, exclusive of the phenomena of crossing. Only, and here is the point, it is principally the white race which emigrates and populates anew other countries. Consequently these races will be more nearly allied than those that we found occupying their places; for these last were the result of a series of operations, continuing for centuries, and which will never again be repeated.

The civilised white man will not be unmindful of the paths which he has opened up to himself. Were he obliged to remain where he is for lack of means of transportation, he would still pursue his course, he would none the less continue to extend his migrations. These relations between populations established under the most varied means, would of necessity bring about marriages. His aptitude for acclimatation would be enlarged. The phenomena which now obtain almost alone in the case of the Jewish race, would become universal. The races of the future will receive at birth an aptitude for sustaining the operation of the most varied influences; they will become in advance, as it were, either wholly or partially acclimated.

Thus, by virtue of events so linked together and of a self-imposed necessity, the future human races will be largely renovated with an infusion of white blood, that is to say, with the ethnological elements which thus far have carried to its highest degree the development of human intelligence. Consequently these races will become more intimately related to each other, but they will not for all that be either alike or equal. The same causes which have been at work in producing diversities among the members of the great human family,

will none the less continue to be active. There will always be dissimilar races, there will always be races superior and races inferior. But on the whole, humanity will be advanced, its means of control over natural phenomena will be enlarged; at the same time its power of resistance to those events which thus far have sometimes controlled it, will be increased. Nothing, then, warrants us in thinking that the civilisations of the future can in any way be inferior to those of the present day, but on the contrary we even go so far as to predict that in some direction yet unknown, they will far outstrip them.

THE NEGRO AS A SOLDIER.*

By Sanford B. Hunt, M.D., late Surgeon U. S. Volunteers.

Ethnographical causes have always been active in the production of wars, and the existence of slavery was undoubtedly the ultimate cause in the war of the Rebellion. Yet, though it involved the deepest problems of race, it was not in itself a war of races. It was a struggle between two geographical sections of the same race and nation as to the just status of a foreign element which had become domicilated among us by the act of our ancestors and which, in itself powerless, had by mere bulk and magnitude acquired a controlling importance in national affairs. During this struggle the negro remained passive. His ideas of the struggle were not revolutionary, but religious. He believed and waited, his simple mind filled with the grand metaphors of Holy Writ, and his doubts all silenced by an implicit faith that in the Lord's good time his deliverance would come. When it was decided by Government to employ him as a soldier, he cheerfully enlisted as he found opportunity. But when, by accident of locality, he was unable to reach our lines, he remained a faithful and quiet slave. In no instance did he assume leadership, in no instance did he organise to strike a blow for his own liberty. Yet, in all instances, he was patiently loyal to his own race and to the cause of the Union.

This passivity is a moral element which might well create many doubts as to his efficiency as a soldier. Aside from the intemperate

* We are indebted to Dr. W. A. Hammond, late Surgeon-General U. S. Army, for a copy of this valuable report to the U. S. Sanitary Commission.

opposition of negro-haters, many of his calmer friends could only look upon the experiment as one involving serious risks of failure. Had he the physique to endure hardship? Could he acquire the manual of arms and perfect himself in tactics? Had he the necessary physical courage? Would he not, when his savage blood was up in the fever-heat of battle, entail disgrace upon our cause by acts of outrage? Was not the profession of the soldier in its essence too noble and manly for this pariah of the land? All thinking minds acknowledged these doubts, and with many they became at once convictions.

The scepticisms entertained as to the capacity of the negro for the duties of a soldier found voice even in the Acts of Congress authorising his enrolment. The first Act only impliedly makes him a soldier. In the Act of Congress approved July 17th, 1862, we find the following:—

"SEC. II.—*And be it further enacted*: That the President of the United States be authorised to employ as many persons of African descent as he may deem necessary and proper for the suppression of the Rebellion, and, for this purpose, he may *organise* and *use them in such manner*, as he may judge best for the public welfare."

A little later another Act was passed exhibiting the same spirit of hesitancy. We quote:—

"SEC. XII.—*And be it further enacted*: That the President be and he is hereby authorised to receive into the service of the United States, for the purpose of constructing intrenchments, or performing camp service or any other labour, *or any military or naval service for which they may be found competent*, persons of African descent, and such persons may be enrolled and organised under such regulations not inconsistent with the Constitution and Laws, as the President may prescribe."

Even here, the name of soldier is not employed, and the precedence given to his employment as a labourer expressively indicates the hesitation felt by Congress and the people. And with a just sense that in thus employing the negro they opened the way to questions of deepest moment that might lie beyond and incurred obligations which would change the political status of four millions of human beings, they enacted another section conferring freedom on the negro, his wife, his mother and his children, who should serve in our armies, provided always that the master or owner of the negro should have enlisted in the service of, or in some way have aided and abetted the cause of the Rebellion.

Men looked at this startling innovation with different eyes. The earnest believer in a common humanity rejoiced; the careful statesman hesitated; the prejudiced denounced; and the pure scientist